National Resilience, Politics and Society
Volume 5, No. 1–2, 2023, pp.57-92
DOI: https://doi.org/10.26351/NRPS/5-1-2/13
ISSN: 2706-7645 (print); 2706-7653 (online)

ARIEL UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Sixties Did (Not Altogether) Skip Israel: Rosh Pinna's Hippie Community

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Abstract

Apparently, the sixties did not skip Israel altogether. The article describes the hippie community of Rosh Pinna, juxtaposing it with concurrent Israeli-Zionist life. The study compares various aspects of the hippie and Zionist ideologies: political-military agendas, spiritual sources of inspiration, music, nativeness, nature, settlement and community, social behavior, and sexuality.

There are currently three widespread images of Rosh Pinna: Zionist, touristic, and alternative-spiritual. The study unveils the unknown origins of the first alternative community in Israel, while also presenting some historical events that preceded and contributed to the development of globalist, liberal, and spiritual contemporary trends in Israeli culture.

Keywords: counterculture and alternative culture, glocality, Old Rosh Pinna, sixties, spirituality, Zionism.

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* Acknowledgments: This study was supported by the Research Center for Cultures and Communities in the Galilee at Zefat Academic College.

Introduction: Were There Forerunners to Israel's Alternative-Spiritual Culture?

In his book Farewell to "Srulik": Changing Values among the Israeli Elite, the sociologist Oz Almog wrote:

> Zionism was founded on an ideological and cultural intractability... which had cultural undercurrents that waited for the right time to emerge and transform the character of the Israeli government into a more colorful and pluralistic one.... The "flower children" [among other sixties' phenomena – R.E.] created a new social experience that emphasized different values. (Almog, 2004: 29)[1]

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Galilee colony of Rosh Pinna had a unique hippie community, a kind of divergent "bubble" within Israel that heralded the infiltration and prosperity of globalist, liberal, and spiritual discourses in Israel. Its effects and influence were intertwined with the rise of other cultural trends in Israel in the late twentieth century. In this study, for the first time, we discuss the historical events that preceded and contributed to the development of these trends. The history of Rosh Pinna involves more than just plows and silk production, the Romanian aliyah, and Baron Rothschild; it also includes nudism and rock music, the "Plastic Prophecy" commune, and marijuana smoking. These days, Rosh Pinna's image includes the latter just as much as the former.

This article will describe the hippie community of Rosh Pinna (HCRP), which was concentrated around the circular Upper Street (illustration 1), while juxtaposing it with the standard Israeli-Zionist-sabra life in the 1960s and 1970s. We will lay out their ideologies, lifestyles, values, and agendas in a way that emphasizes their differences and clarifies the innovative and daring character of this unique community – a kind of "laboratory" for social experimentation (Puttick, 2000), some of which eventually permeated the mainstream.

1 The translations of this and all further quotes herein are ours.

Illustration 1: The Upper Street in three periods: 1935 (Rosh Pinna Archive – unknown photographer), 1966 (photo: Abi Naveh), and 2019 (photo: Tal Elohev)

These days, there are three widespread images of the *moshava* (agricultural community) of Rosh Pinna (illustration 2): the *Zionist* image of the first *moshava* in pre-state Israel, founded in 1882 during the First Aliyah and known for its agriculture, small-scale industry, and malaria research center, as well as the first Hebrew school; a *touristic* image, not only due to educational Zionist-heritage tourism, but also focusing on luxury consumers flocking to indulgent bed and breakfasts, body treatments, restaurants, the Cinematheque, and the boutique wine festival; and an *alternative-spiritual* image, reflected in the various spiritual communities and growth centers, mind-body treatments, socio-ecological activities, and even a 2019 Woodstock tribute festival. Naturally, these images are interwoven and fused together.

Although the Zionist history is well known, the sources of the *moshava*'s prominent alternative-spiritual image are obscure and will be explored in this article. The touristic context is woven into the connection between the other two images – Zionist and spiritual. Thus, we will shed light on other threads woven into Rosh Pinna's history that extend beyond the Zionist-pioneering story.

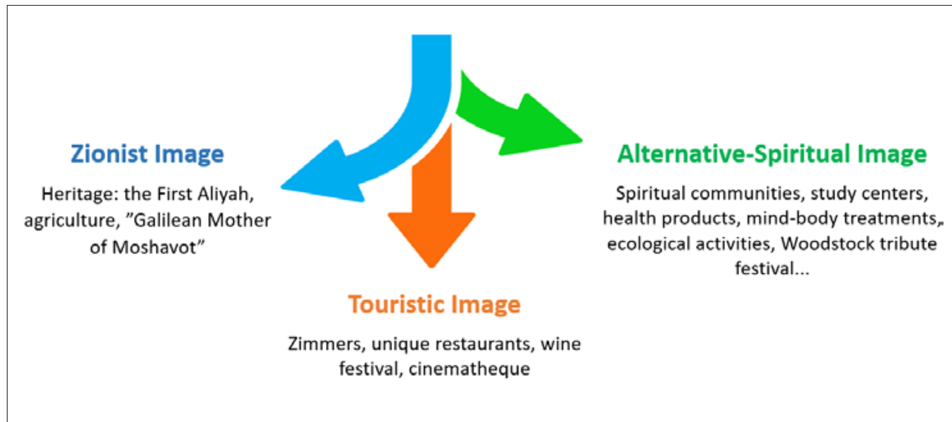

Illustration 2: The three images of Rosh Pinna

It is well known that Israeli society is not homogeneous, and we can always pinpoint various voices and traditions within it. The juxtaposition we will present here, between sabras and the hippies of the HCRP, considers other subversive voices that existed on Israel's margins during the 1960s and 1970s in the media (e.g., the *HaOlam HaZeh* newspaper), literature (Dan Ben-Amotz), poetry (Yona Wallach), theater (Hanoch Levin), music (Arik Einstein), and other fields. The paradigmatic change involving the fall of Israeli hegemony, the rise of multiculturalism and privatization, and the spread of globalism and neoliberalism only began in the 1980s.

Therefore, a comparative analysis of the hegemonic voice at the time of the HCRP aids us in understanding the community, which established a lasting settlement different from other subversive phenomena of that period. Notably, the story of the HCRP was told for the first time in our previous study (Ruah-Midbar Shapiro and Elohev, 2019), which reconstructed its history in detail using interviews, photographs, and archival documents.[2] For the present study, we have accumulated further testimonies and documents. We will present this story here in brief and then describe the community's lifestyle, ideology, and social mobilization, while contrasting them with the Zionist-sabra way of life. As mentioned, this analogy

2 The study also relied on Elohev, 2014.

is meant to emphasize the HCRP's innovative and daring nature compared to the mainstream. At the end of the article, we will conclude that, in fact, *the sixties did not skip Israel altogether*. As a microcosm of global hippie culture, the HCRP even added unique nuances to Israeli society that permeate the current cultural tapestry.

The Story of Rosh Pinna's Hippie Community[3]

In 1964, three bohemian hippie couples discovered the "Upper Street" at the top of Rosh Pinna and its stone houses abandoned by the descendants of the settlers of the First Aliyah (see illustration 3). The latter had moved to newer neighborhoods down the hill, and the Upper Street had been forsaken. The couples fell in love with the unique scenery and settled in some of the houses. Later, 20–30 other youths gradually gathered there – illegally occupying additional houses (in the fashion of hippie squatting, which we will describe below), renovating them, and revitalizing the street. Because these people were artists or professionals, the result was the formation of a characteristically hippie community that benefited from the ability to reside in houses that were partially cut off from infrastructure, thus avoiding expenses. While Israel did have some "hippie occurrences" here and there, the old Upper Street of Rosh Pinna was a permanent residence of a communal hippie nature unheard of anywhere else in Israel at the time. The community embodied familiar "flower child" characteristics: anti-establishment sentiments, denunciation of the mainstream lifestyle, use of drugs, pacifism, camaraderie, harmony with nature, nudism, sexual permissiveness, rock and roll music, psychedelic culture, eclectic spirituality, and more.

The picturesque scene – old trees, orchards and terraces, wild plants, the path to the valley and its springs, the reservoir and the artificial "waterfall" that sprang from it – captivated the hearts of visiting youths, who were welcomed there, some staying

3 The details of this story and full description of all three waves are based on interviews and documents and are meticulously illustrated in Ruah-Midbar Shapiro and Elohev, 2019.

Illustration 3: Rosh Pinna – view to the west
(photograph courtesy of the Rosh-PinnaRosh Pinna Local Council)

for a short time and others longer. The lack of infrastructure, even an accessible road, allowed the community that formed there to experience the isolation from civilization that they desired. They could bathe nude in the springs, use drugs, play rock music at all hours, and share their meals around a campfire. From the late 1960s, an anarchist commune – the Plastic Prophecy – was active at HCRP for two years, manufacturing leather and tie-dye clothes and running a teahouse in Safed. Additional settlers gradually legalized their residency in the abandoned houses with the local council and the legal owners and occasionally worked either in their professions or in agriculture and renovations as journeymen at the *moshava* (illustration 4).

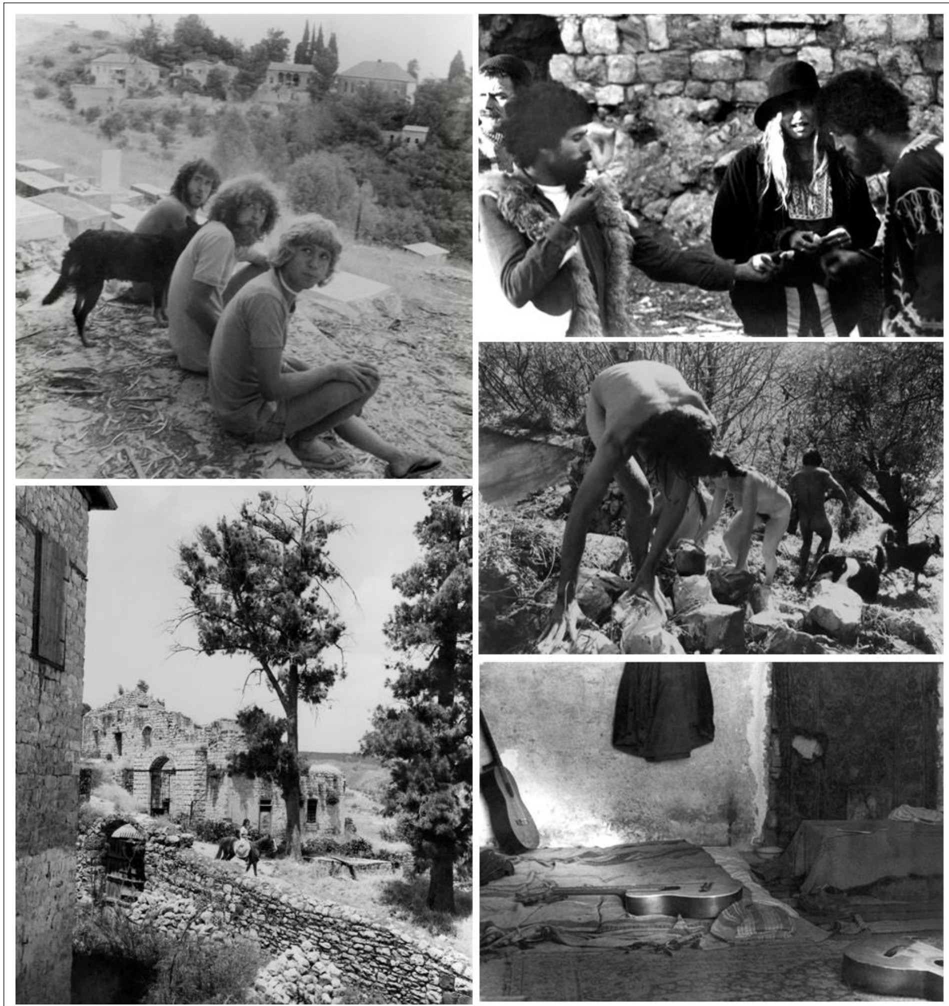

Illustration 4: Scenes from the life of the "first wave" of Rosh Pinna's hippie community (top-right photo: Hanoch 1977; all other photos: Tal Elohev)

After about a decade of the "first wave" of these individual hippie settlers came the "second wave," which started a process of gradual post-hippie characterization: From the mid-1970s onward, the community grew to about one hundred residents and expanded to rented houses around the whole *moshava*, as well as temporary structures in the valley, two caves in the mountain above the Upper Street, and a three-story building known as the "American House," which remained standing

among the ruins of the Palestinian village of al-Ja'una, near the Upper Street. During this period, the HCRP's alternative-spiritual image was established, as rumors of it spread and dozens of intellectuals and bohemian seekers were drawn there.

During the "second wave," the settlement was characterized by bohemians, people on the fringes of society, and spiritual seekers who gathered around a few teachers. Yoseph Safra, a former theater professional who settled in the *moshava* in the early 1970s (and left in 1977), founded the School for the Study of the Human Self on the third floor of the American House, where he taught the spiritual teachings of Krishnamurti, Gurdjieff, and Ouspensky. Several years later, Alan Radner, an ex-Canadian graphic artist, purchased a mansion at the bottom of the *moshava*, where his disciples (including the charismatic Arie Bober, who had his own circle of disciples) formed a commune. These two local "gurus" taught the spiritual doctrines of Gurdjieff, Ouspensky, Maurice Nicoll, and neo-Sufism, and stressed personal growth and radical spiritual experiences while renouncing conventional family life.

At that time, conflicts between the HCRP and the *moshava* authorities and elders grew, as the latter sought to redesign the Upper Street to preserve its Zionist heritage through the Association for Reconstruction and Development of the Pioneer Settlement, founded in 1975. The development work involved restoring the buildings so they would be available for tourism, establishing an educational center for the History of Zionism in the Galilee, paving the Ottoman stone road leading up to the Upper Street to make it suitable for motor vehicles, and drying up the flowing stream that ran alongside the street. In 1983, the Israeli government declared the "Pioneer Settlement Reconstruction Site" a National Heritage Site.

All these actions threatened the isolated, free-spirited hippie way of life that had developed there and led to an uprising by HCRP residents, some of whom had gradually purchased or rented houses in the Upper Street by then. In 1977, there was a public confrontation at the old Upper Street synagogue between the *moshava*'s leaders and HCRP members regarding the restoration plans, which sought to make it a Zionist-educational and tourism compound (as documented in the film "Lost dreams of the upper street" *Hanoch* 1977). The elders called the new residents "guests" and viewed them as unrestrained punks. As far as the former were concerned, the area

was still empty and deserted, despite the lively hippie settlement, which to them seemed invisible. Their narrative about the place was nostalgic and Zionist, while the hippies were perceived as lacking ideology and values. The HCRP residents, in contrast, regarded themselves as a utopian-anarchist community guided by spiritual values such as human camaraderie and harmony with nature. They even claimed they were the true and legitimate embodiments of the values written in the ethical manifesto of the *moshava* founders from the First Aliyah. Even today, Upper Street residents, galleries, and business owners struggle to maintain the unique, magical ambience of the place as tourists flood the area with vehicles, noise, and litter.

The late 1980s saw the emergence of a "third wave," as the Upper Street became a tourist destination combining the Zionist narrative promoted by the Association for Reconstruction and Development with the alternative-spiritual character that echoed its hippie history. Historic buildings became museums, galleries, and restaurants. The Zionist narrative seemingly "won the battle." However, even today we can discern the post-hippie style, with echoes of alternative spirituality found throughout Rosh Pinna: shops selling handmade soaps, concoctions and health foods, homemade cheeses, and wholesome pastries, a lively rock music scene that includes jam sessions, a plethora of holistic therapists, spiritual study centers; the Tamaveda Center for Human Awakening, which offers courses on focusing and mindfulness; an organic communal garden that offers alternative workshops and events; and a stone spiral for meditative walking in the valley (2021). As a sequel of sorts to the music circles that HCRP members Drora Havkin and Ehud Banai held with Arab musicians from the Galilee in the 1980s (Ruah-Midbar Shapiro and Elohev, 2019), the *moshava* now has a Jewish-Arab bilingual kindergarten; as a sequel to the liberal sexual trends promoted by the hippies, Rosh Pinna now has a vibrant LGBTQ+ community.

These days, when yuppie tourists spend quality time at the *moshava's* luxurious bed and breakfasts, they encounter – and not by chance – a diverse range of echoes of the hippie days. Until recently, the source of the *moshava*'s unique alternative-spiritual character was unclear, as this unknown hippie chapter of history was excluded from Association for Reconstruction and Development publications intended for the many Upper Street visitors. The unveiling of the HCRP's history

began with the “Dreams in the Upper Street” exhibition at the site (Elohev, 2014), funded by the Rosh Pinna Local Council; this included photographs, film segments, interviews, and testimonies. Following that exhibition and the publication of the first study on the HCRP (Ruah-Midbar Shapiro and Elohev, 2019), the HCRP’s story was mentioned for the first time in 2019 in a permanent display in Old Rosh Pinna’s visitors center, which presents the various kinds of settlements in the *moshava*. The panel referring to the HCRP adopts the narrative of the 2014 exhibition as well as some of its wording (illustration 5):

> In the 1960s and 1970s, a group of artists and intellectuals gathered at the Pioneer Settlement in Rosh Pinna, nicknamed “the “Hippie Colony.” … This community of artists, seekers, and dreamers found sanctuary in Rosh Pinna, but the old residents saw them as invaders who threatened the local lifestyle. The polarization between these two worldviews gradually diminished, … a joint community was created in an atmosphere of tolerance and coexistence that characterizes the *moshava* to this day.

Illustration 5: A sign in the exhibit on the history of the Upper Street in the “Pioneer Settlement Visitors Center” in Old Rosh Pinna (2019; photo: Ig’al Friedman)

Two Conflicting Ethe: Zionism versus the HCRP

> It was suffocating, dry, warlike, and survival-oriented. It was during the Six-Day War, and people were intoxicated with victory.... In the Upper Street, for the first time in my life, I encountered openness and intellectual originality and realized there were other cultural alternatives. (Lapid, in Elohev, 2014)

In this chapter, we will track the HCRP's unique ideological characteristics while presenting the corresponding – and, in fact, conflicting – features common at the time in Israeli society. We will divide our discussion into three sections (although, naturally, certain topics belong in multiple sections *simultaneously*) in which we shall review the different aspects of inter-ideological comparison: affiliation, place, and nomos.

Affiliation: Politics, Nationalism, and Culture

The Political-Military Agenda in Israel

When we think of the 1960s in Israel, our first association is not with counterculture and flower children as it is in Western countries, but with the Six-Day War. Israeli society at the time of the establishment of Rosh Pinna's hippie community was a "mobilized society" (Peled and Ophir, 2001). Political issues, especially regarding national security, were the public's priority. Military conscription was – and still is – mandatory and was generally obeyed; the mass-media agenda, the curricula of the education system, and budgeting considerations reflected the centrality of political and security-related issues. The tension that preceded the Six-Day War in July 1967 – much like the public euphoria that followed – and the constant preoccupation with security and military matters surrounding the War of Attrition (1967–1970) and the Yom Kippur War (1973) – were all topics of intense preoccupation for Israeli citizens on a daily basis.

The Western hippie pacifism "demanded to lay bare the moral failing inherent to the nationalism that consecrated mass killings in the name of progress" (Almog and Blais, 2008: 91) and condemned the US war in Vietnam. While Rosh

Pinna's hippies did express their pacifism by accepting draft dodgers into the community and were apathetic toward state-military politics, this was not a local political issue but a cosmopolitical one. The lack of pacifist hippie protests in Israel may be explained as evidence of the widespread consensus surrounding Israel's military policy.

While Israeli citizens would often listen to the news and to Hebrew music on national radio stations, HCRP members were disconnected from the news and preferred listening to albums of foreign music. Prominent hippie icons associated music with politics, as in the musical *Hair* (1967), which linked pacifism with anti-establishment sentiments and social stigmas, and the movement's foundational event – the Woodstock festival (1969) – whose slogan was "three days of peace and music." Mere decades later, that very hippie individuality "not only lost its negative label but became the spearhead of the post-national Western ethos" (Almog and Blais, 2008: 92). In the sixties, however, when these hippie worldviews were embraced by the HCRP, they conflicted with the common Israeli ethos of personal mobilization for the state and subordination to its army and other institutions.

When one HCRP member, a Holocaust survivor, recounted how he had killed Arabs in the 1948 war while expressing combative right-wing opinions, the youths in the community disagreed with him, using humanistic and pacifist arguments. However, the cosmopolitical-pacifist hippie ideology that characterized members of the community should not be mistaken for left-wing political leanings. The Rosh Pinna squatters were at ease with resettling the "American House," whose Palestinian owners had been driven out in 1948 along with the other residents of the Palestinian village of al-Ja'una, located above the Upper Street. The destroyed homes of these Arab residents did not disturb the community members' conscience. Most of the homes had been completely ruined (by the army), and only one was renovated and temporarily settled by an HCRP member. Squatting in a Palestinian house did not involve ideological conflict. This can be viewed as an expression of the HCRP's locality, which perceived itself as detached from Zionist-Israeli values as it, in fact, subconsciously adopted the Israeli-Jewish custom of settling down in formerly Arab villages. The only person to express remorse on this matter, in hindsight, was Tony

Kenny, a non-Jewish Australian who lived in the HCRP between 1973 and 1981 with his Israeli wife and their children:

> One of the things that still strike me is how apolitical we all were, even with the presence of Jauni … staring at us from the hill side.… Nobody ever questioned or even mentioned the 1.5 million refugees created by the state of Israel. (email correspondence, 2016)

Culture and Tradition: Spiritual Sources of Inspiration

The image of the "sabra" that embodied the Israeli ethos was characteristically secular and drew inspiration from the Enlightenment movement and the values of progress and adoration of science, combined with a national and particularistic-Jewish traditional aspect (Almog, 2000). Whereas sabras protested aspects of Jewish tradition perceived as religious, "diasporic," halachic, or faith-oriented, their criticism did not wholly reject the Jewish memory of religious stories, role models, and religious values. Thus, biblical stories starred in sabra discourse alongside the progress narrative. According to Israel's Declaration of Independence, the Jewish people "created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books." Ben-Gurion praises the "great moral strength, whose equal may not be found in any people's history," that is inherent in the Bible (Ben-Gurion, 1972. This is how the sabras perceived themselves, as descendants of the Bible, as a "light unto the nations."

In contrast, HCRP members drew most of their inspiration from the hippie lifestyle and Anglo-Saxon cultures. Most of the original HCRP members were of American, Australian, and English origin. Much like the spiritual teachers and traditions adopted by hippies worldwide, HCRP members sought their spiritual sources of inspiration within a variety of traditions, not necessarily Judaism. The spiritual teachers active in Rosh Pinna – Safra, Bober, and Radner – brought the teachings of Gurdjieff, Ouspensky, and Krishnamurti into the community, alongside East Asian traditions (yoga, Buddhism, etc.) and neo-Sufism (in texts translated from English). Jewish and kabbalistic traditions – and especially a Jewish-Israeli particularistic

awareness – were (almost) absent from the community's vibrant spiritual atmosphere. The combination of Jewish tradition and a Western spiritual tradition was yet to appear in Israel as a cultural phenomenon. Decades would pass before alternative-spiritual activists felt sufficiently comfortable to incorporate Jewish content into a universalist context within the New Age scene (Ruah-Midbar, 2012).

Music

Music is yet another window into a society's inspirations and cultural expressions. Israel of the 1960s had a particularistic "Hebrew music" culture, which reached its height of popularity with military bands. This resulted in an ideological refusal to embrace Western musical trends like pop music. Although Israel viewed itself as a Western democracy open to the influences of global cultural innovation, in reality authorities were suspicious of elements they perceived as harmful to the youth's ideological commitment to the national collective. This ambivalence was mirrored in the education system and youth movements' attitude toward Anglo-American rock music, which was seen as inappropriate and vulgar. Israeli teenagers in the 1960s were divided into members of youth movements identified with folk dancing, who were perceived as following the "proper" cultural path, and those who took up ballroom dancing and were considered egotistical and socially irresponsible. This was the atmosphere that led a governmental committee to bar the arrival of the Beatles in 1965 "on the grounds that the band did not possess a sufficiently high cultural standard" (Regev and Seroussi, 2004: 139–140).

Although rock and roll and pop culture were considered anti-establishment in the late 1960s, musical influences that expressed the new values of Western rock began to infiltrate the Israeli music industry. "A young generation of writers … was captivated by the flower-children revolution and began assimilating this new genre into Israeli music." Their innovative songs "were written according to the new patterns of the flower children's lifestyle: plenty of erotic love … a dash of 'hippie-ness' … and a bit of psychologistic introspection" (Almog, 2004: 664). Toward the late 1970s, after these currents had already been accepted as legitimate "Israeli rock," they were Israelized via local Israeli harmonies, texts, and themes (Regev and Seroussi, 2004: 122ff.).

Music was a central outlet for the expression of typical hippie values: anti-establishment and anti-industrial protest, pacifism, sexual freedom, a return to nature, and spiritual-psychedelic experiences. This led to the rise of a long line of cultural icons that symbolized these values. Indeed, the music played in the Upper Street in the mid-1960s consisted of foreign albums from this culture of rock and psychedelia, by musicians such as the Rolling Stones, Janis Joplin, and Bob Dylan. "People from all over the country and world came and went and brought new music, other opinions, different clothes, fragrances like patchouli" (Lapid, in Elohev, 2014). The hippies of Old Rosh Pinna also listened to world music from non-Western sources:

> In the morning, we stand on the balcony and gaze upon the rising sun to the sounds of the Beatles' "Here Comes the Sun." After lunch, the guys practice yoga to Ravi Shankar. The children are put to bed to the sounds of Donovan. At midnight, we burn the trash to the music of Deep Purple. The record player rests only between 5 and 7 in the morning. (Avnery, 1970)

Place

Native Land and Nativeness

The turbulent manner in which Israeli Jews connected to their land was described as follows:

> How is Israel's place-related dilemma different than the dilemma that characterizes every place in every culture? The universal question of place can be phrased so: where in the world is "home"? (Gurevitch and Aran, 1991: 9)

While the "native is always where they belong" and "maintains a natural connection" with the place they live in – meaning that the physical and symbolic places are one and the same (Gurevitch and Aran, 1991: 10) – Israelis have found themselves in a different position:

> They do not reside but settle, continuously immigrate to the land [of Israel].… Israeli native rituals were rites that connected them with the nature of the land, rituals of their natural connection to the land.… Locality itself is not a given but an aspiration, an idea. Sabras longed to realize a fantasy of nativeness that involved a descent into locality. Down in the field, among rocks and thorns, they sought the idea. The place hid among the *za'atar* [hyssop]. (Gurevitch, 2007: 52–53)

Zionism's mythic-heroic effort was diagnosed within scholarly discourse as a kind of secularization of religious tradition or the creation of a secular-Zionist religion, whose secular "commandment" is to settle the land (Shapira, 1998). So how does the sabra's encounter with za'atar and hills differ from the hippie's encounter with za'atar and valleys? Sabras achieved purification by an arrival "that maintains a challenge, necessitates physical effort, skill, and resourcefulness, perhaps courage" (Gurevitch, 2007). Hippies, on the other hand, saw the za'atar as symbolizing the enchantment of calmly wandering through an untamed space. The Zionist effort of climbing and conquering a hill was replaced by the hippies' meditative descent into a valley. For them, za'atar symbolized the life of freedom of a "gatherer" in nature that went beyond the common route of work and consumerism.

The Zionist ethos yearned to realize an indigenous fantasy[4] of localism by returning to an archaic historical existence in the uninhabited wild places of past exotic or heroic affairs (Gurevitch, 2007) – be they biblical or war heritage stories. The land of the Bible served as a link to national history – a nativeness embedded in particularism, in the connection to the legacy of the people of Israel. In contrast, hippie nativeness expressed divergence from (Western) ethnocentrism into something "other" that reflected criticism of the mainstream Western culture in which they had been raised. Their return to the place was not a particularistic return to the Land of Israel or local tradition, but quite the opposite – a connection to transnationalism, to

4 For another comparative study discussing this local indigenous fantasy, through the Canaanites and Neopagans in the land of Istael, see Ruah-Midbar Shapiro and Eshed, 2022.

the nature that binds us all and expresses a camaraderie among humankind: "People came to live where the earth is respected, the house is heated with firewood, and life is simple" (Naveh, in Elohev, 2014).

The strong hippie connection to place, nature, and the social environment was detached from the prevalent Israeli ideology. It was disconnected from the national story and expressed the typical global spirit of flower children, who felt a close bond with nature, their community, and humankind. As one of the first members of the community put it:

> Rosh Pinna was an idea. A sort of ideal that became the aspiration and sanctuary for all the lonely souls who had heard of it by word of mouth. Quietly, as refugees, bohemians who tired of convention flocked to it, "dervishes" who were mere tourists in their own lives, flower children and prophets, both false and true. In short: outcasts of the world. (Gal'on, in Elohev, 2014)

It has been suggested that the erosion of the nation-state occurs in proportion to the strengthening of universality on the one hand and individuality on the other (Scholte, 2000). Here, too, in the HCRP, the transnational identity was manifested in connection with the intimate self. Hippie ideology espoused not only transnational human camaraderie, but also internal exploration and the notion of embarking upon a spiritual journey into the deepest recesses of one's soul:

> [It was] a kind of active laboratory of human relations that was a microcosm raging and teeming with urges and endless simultaneous events … a community whose unifying factor was not always clear, apart from the powerful feeling … that there are deeper layers beyond what is "commonly accepted" and that in order to discover them, one has to look inward. (Gal'on, in Elohev, 2014)

Nativeness certainly did not have the same meaning in the hippie context as in the Israeli one; it was manifested in a rather shallow adoption of other indigenous

cultures, reimagined with an oriental flair and redesigned in accordance with a Western spirit. According to this type of Western spirituality, in its Israeli version, these admired native cultures – both Indian and local Arab – embodied different kinds of "oriental-likeness" (Ruah-Midbar and Ruah-Midbar, 2017). Arab culture became accessible after the 1967 war, when traditional Arab goods could be purchased from Palestinians in Jerusalem, Jericho, and elsewhere. The hippie longing for nativeness was manifested in embracing "oriental" dress and listening to world music that mediated an Asian style for the West. For them, both near and far were expressions of authenticity, a projection objective, an imagined ideal culture. However, this cultural adoption remained external; HCRP members consumed the spiritual doctrines of these cultures only in their modern Western version, such as neo-Hinduism and neo-Sufism.[5]

Nature versus Cultivation

Zionism dearly desired to reach virgin land (Gurevitch, 2007: 62, 104) in order to "conquer the wasteland" and establish new settlements, as the Israeli poet Nathan Alterman wrote in his Morning Song (1932): "From Lebanon to Dead Sea slopes |we'll cross you over with our ploughs | we will plant you and we'll build you | beautify you through and through. | We'll dress you concrete gown and mortar | garden rugs we'll spread and bring | salvation to your soil and fields | seeds of grain like bells will ring. | We'll carve a road in through your desert | we'll dry the swamps no longer wet | how more to glorify and sate you | what more we haven't given yet."

These images of an untamed land that requires plowing and sowing, paving and drying – characteristics of Zionist romanticism regarding nature – are quite different from hippie nature adoration. Hippie romanticism sought out the natural and authentic, "untouched by man," in contrast to cultivation and industrialization. Industry and the conquest of wild nature were regarded as desecration and were seen as injurious to the earth's natural beauty (Ruah-Midbar, 2019).

5 On the "Westernization of the East" in relation to the alternative-spiritual arena, see Ruah-Midbar, 2015.

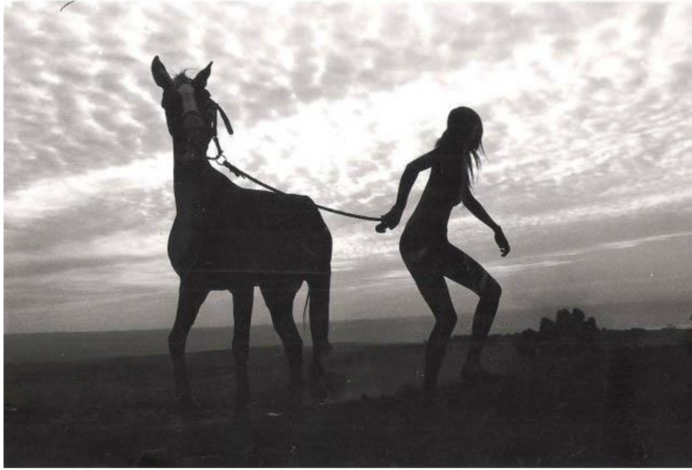

Illustration 6: Scene from the life of Rosh Pinna's hippie community
(Photo: Yacov Rosenblat 1974)

Thus, both ideologies possess a mythical dimension, but their vectors are opposed: for the Zionists, this mythical connection was born of conquering the wasteland and cultivating virgin soil, whereas for the hippies, it came from an affinity for untamed nature and distance from civilized domains. This difference was manifested in gendered imagery. In both cases, nature is portrayed as female, but the gender relationship is different. Zionism used phallic imagery such as a hoe and rifle to describe redemption of the land through conquest – a kind of *Taming of the Shrew*. In contrast, HCRP members admired nature's fluidity and curves and adopted a passive attitude:

> Rosh Pinna is highly sensual. The constantly flowing water, curves, burrows, secrets – they are all feminine. You must not allow Rosh Pinna to steal you away, because that is what it does to people. (Eckstein, in Levitsky, 1984)

The romantic attitude toward natural vistas was Rosh Pinna's main draw for hippies:

> And then there were the valley and orchards.... At first, I was still floating several centimeters above the ground, saturated with the music of the place, between the stone ruins that resembled wise old statues and the mist that

> decorated the trees, with the green foliage and water and scents. Oh, those wonderful scents! All the fragrances of nature blooming around, and the moist earth and the smell of wood-stove smoke mixed with the sweet breeze. (Gal'on, in Elohev, 2014)

The constructed landscape of the Upper Street – the stone houses and stone road built in the late nineteenth century – also created a romantic atmosphere. That is why the hippie residents objected in 1966 to the authorities' paving the old road with asphalt to adapt it to modern cars. This anti-industrial approach to nature adoration defied the Zionist perception of "conquering the wasteland":

> I saw bulldozers come and destroy this stone road. There is only one like it in all the country. Only one! A Turkish road that was built, and then people came to destroy it with asphalt.… To destroy history?! So one of the veterans says: "How can I drive my car through it?" … Well then, maybe you should also open a convenience store next to the Western Wall?! If the former is not holy, then the latter is not holy either. (Eckstein, in Hanoch, 1977)

Settlement and Community

The hippies' preference for living in nature, far from civilization, was combined with a functional approach that led them to search for natural sites they could settle and live in – sites that had been deserted or had a spring for washing and trees that bore edible fruit. Old Rosh Pinna suited those needs. It was a neighborhood of ruined houses surrounded by orchards growing wild and had a "waterfall" of spring water. The fact that the water did not come directly from the spring and the space was semi-domesticated did not bother the hippies because it was abandoned, crumbled, and deserted. The lack of connection to the electric grid, and sometimes even to plumbing, gave the settlers an advantage, as it contributed to the sense of primacy and disconnection from civilization while still using some semblance of infrastructure. Although the Upper Street was accessible, it was inconvenient for motor vehicles, which HCRP members saw as another advantage.

Once again, we witness the hippies' passive resistance to Zionist activity. Sabra diligence was manifested in agriculture, industry, and the military, in contrast to hippie idleness, which led them to settle down in uninhabited places with minimal infrastructure and lead a "simple" lifestyle. Although most of the settlers renovated the demolished houses, some moved (temporarily) into a couple of caves in the mountain above al-Ja'una or set up temporary structures in the valley below.

Squatting – moving into uninhabited homes or unowned abandoned areas without acquisition of ownership, a lease, or any other legal permit – was a common practice among hippies in deserted suburban neighborhoods and abandoned farms and villages across Europe between 1960 and 1970. Until the 1970s, residence in temporary structures was seen as socially inferior, and these places were classified as "slums." However, counterculture youth willingly embraced improvised building techniques and a bohemian lifestyle. Their homes became symbols of an ideological off-the-grid lifestyle that represented a choice to remove themselves from the comforts of technology and acculturation and resistance to the negative effects of capitalist, consumerist society.

During the summers in rural areas of Europe, hippie squatters vastly outnumbered the original local population, which was generally hostile to their lifestyle of drugs, nonconformity, and sexual permissiveness (Möller, 2017). At first the authorities did not prevent the squatting, as these were abandoned buildings and farms and it was advantageous to have them occupied. However, after a while they began to regulate this growing phenomenon.

In the State of Israel, squatting usually had a national context, namely, the occupation of houses abandoned by their Arab residents after they fled during the 1948 war. *Hippie* squatting in abandoned buildings in Palestinian villages took place in the 1960s and 1970s in various places across Israel, such as Lifta and Achziv. Rosh Pinna was an exceptional case, as the abandoned houses had originally been built and owned by First Aliyah Jews (except for the "American House," the only house owned by Palestinians). Therefore, this squatting had no national-political connotations. In Rosh Pinna, as in the West, the squatting started out as consensual, but over the years, as hippie settlement in the abandoned houses thrived – authorities

repeatedly tried to remove the squatters, or at least to subject the Upper Street to general public regulation.

Renovation of the Upper Street to make it a place that would attract bohemians drew the attention of longtime local residents and authorities, who discovered its economic and tourism potential and became aware of the need to renovate and restore this gem. Indeed, to this day, the stone houses, ancient orchards, flowing water, and scenic valley that captured the hippies' hearts attract many tourists and visitors.

The settlement of Old Rosh Pinna took on a "pioneering" character during the squatting period, as it required renovation and construction skills. Mutual assistance and closeness developed among the settlers of the small neighborhood: they often hosted outside visitors, they shared the daily work and expenses, they played foreign 1960s music, and they occasionally shared a meal around the campfire in the common square. Day-to-day interpersonal connections were seen as part of a utopian spiritual journey toward the realization of an ideal vision. Rampant drug use also contributed to this euphoric experience and the closeness within the community. As one of the first settlers, Abi Naveh, described it:

> There was a special energy there. People agreed to be free with one another. We did not need to watch out for anything.... It was not a closed community, everyone was welcome, and no one tried to be the king or manager. This freedom led to love connections. It doesn't often happen in human society.... Whoever wanted to could come and join.... 18- or 50-year-olds – they all sat together. Visitors from the city would always say: It's really nice, the way you accept each other. I would always feel a kind of warm tide in my heart there – we managed to do it. We loved being together, eating together, creating together. (Naveh, in Elohev, 2014)

His wife, Rachel Naveh, put it this way:

> All the ambience and family we have here – what we do has all kinds of levels, everything we do every day. Not just things [like] drinking coffee.

> This... we're building something together, and helping each other ascend, become more and more holy.... This is a spiritual family. They are always with me, even though I'm here, and I'm always with them, and the people here – even when they leave, they're still with us. It's an invisible connection, but they're all a part of the family. (Kirschenbaum, 1970)

Unlike the kibbutz model, HCRP did not establish a common treasury or a structured communal organization; nor did it become consolidated into an actual commune, like its Western hippie counterparts (Oved, 2009). An exception to this was the Plastic Prophecy commune active there between 1967 and 1970. This anarchist hippie group, which numbered about a dozen members, resided in three connected structures in the Upper Street that they had purchased and renovated. They manufactured artistic leather clothing for a living and sold it in a shop in Tel Aviv. They also ran a teahouse in Safed. Other than in this commune, things were done voluntarily, and the loose social arrangements that formed fell apart rather quickly. The core of this difference lay in ideology, as the kibbutzim recruited the communal concept for national aims, while hippie ideology ranged from human-wide camaraderie to hyper-individualism.

> Nothing is organized here. Everyone does whatever they feel like. People only work to survive, live modestly, and want nothing to do with the establishment.... Why not? Let us live in peace the way we want to. (Eckstein, in Levitsky, 1984)

One local aspect that we can discern in the HCRP is its relationship with the local Arabs. During the "first wave," some members formed learning connections with the Bedouins in the nearby village of Tuba-Zangariyye, whose lifestyle included gathering local plants for food and medicine and producing olive oil and pickled olives. During the "second wave," there were ties with Arab musicians and intellectuals from the Galilee village of Rameh. While openness to relationships with other cultures suited the global hippie ideology, within the HCRP this hippie characteristic took on a glocal nature.

Another glocal aspect can be seen in the establishment of settlements in the periphery. Although the HCRP had no Zionist presumptions, the experiences within it resulted in the founding of three additional settlements in Israel's periphery, which suited the Zionist value of settling the land. These settlements – Neot Semadar, Klil, and Kadita – also had a spiritual, alternative, and nature-oriented character. Kibbutz Neot Semadar was founded in the Negev desert in 1989 by Yoseph Safra (who had left Rosh Pinna in the late 1970s) and his followers from Jerusalem (Schiller and Barkay, 2014). The kibbutz developed high-tech organic agriculture using green natural resources, thus combining Zionism with alternative spirituality. The aim of the kibbutz is to "explore what it means to live together as co-learners, observing ourselves in everyday activities and relationships" (Neot Semadar, 2021). Much like the post-hippie developments in Rosh Pinna, Neot Semadar manufactures high-end organic products and offers spiritual tourism experiences. Its main activities are an art center and a "learning center," and it welcomes volunteers interested in personal growth.

Klil and Kadita in the Galilee were also established by groups that included ex-members of the HCRP. They are based on ecological construction and green energy.

Two HCRP members purchased land in the western Galilee and settled it in 1979. Their settlement, which would become Klil, was defined as ecological – disconnected from the national electric grid, with each resident producing their own electricity, and without a fence around the settlement or between the houses. As the settlement lacked any proper outline plan for years, many people in Klil still face criminal procedures due to illegal construction. The residents, who include intellectuals, academics, artists, and alternative therapists, are rather affluent. The settlement's unique character draws local and spiritual tourism (to a Buddhist retreat, for example), and over the years bed and breakfasts, restaurants, and handicraft and organic produce shops have opened there.

Kadita was founded in the Upper Galilee in 1988 by a small group of families, some of them former HCRP residents. Over the years, more families joined the initial settlement, living in temporary structures. The Israel Land Authority has taken action against them, and to this day many Kadita residents have demolition

orders pending against them. Currently, several dozen families inhabit the place, which the state declared an ecological settlement in 1999. Visually, the town appears basic and primitive: many of the houses are shacks, the roads are made of dirt, and there are no road signs. Electricity is self-manufactured (and usually green), and the residents "lead their lives close to nature in a manner that borders on primordial romanticism." They produce tofu, olive oil, and toiletries made of medicinal herbs, revive ancient crafts (such as felt and weaving), and manage bed and breakfasts. The population also includes alternative therapists, educators, artisans, and agricultural and construction workers. Residents experience "a sense of existential insecurity" due to their stigmatization as "outlaws, land thieves, and social outcasts" in the wake of the story of the founding of the settlement, ongoing struggles, and unconventional conduct (Plotkin, 2023).

The characteristics of these three settlements reflect an interesting continuity to the communal-hippie lifestyle of Rosh Pinna. They embody distinct ideologies and ways of life inspired by the alternative-spiritual culture and were the first settlements of this kind in Israel (Schiller and Barkay, 2014). They offer an alternative to the longstanding Israeli settlement worldview that was mainly focused on Zionist values.

Nomos

Law, Education, and Social Behavior

As part of the modern ethos, the Zionist outlook aspired to organize society in an institutional manner via the branches of state, law, and public order. The systems of education, law and its enforcement, health, finance, and more were all seen as important tools whose fixed boundaries and rules must be upheld. The socialism that ruled the roost in Israel until the 1970s expresses more intensely the idea that state institutions are responsible for the individual's education and welfare and for social justice. As mentioned above, the general atmosphere in Israeli society in the 1960s was still one of a "mobilized nation." This was manifested most clearly by the mandatory draft, but also by the state's ever-growing control over the media and close voluntary attention to the news, whose focus on governmental and military affairs made political and security-related updates dictate the individual's daily routine.

While Zionism espoused ideals of maturity and sovereignty, the hippies embodied an anarchistic youth culture that championed the phrase “turn on, tune in, drop out.” Indeed, those who were drawn to the HCRP and made it flourish were mainly young people in their twenties and thirties, although older people became its ideological leaders, as community members assert:

> [Niza Flunch:] Homeless children... boys came because they wanted a father [figure] or older brother... and girls came looking for love, and everybody was really horny, because they were young and in their prime.
>
> [Yossi Gal’on:] I was little Peter Pan, and those who took me in were the discarded children, who had quit the bustle of life and gathered together, refusing to submit to the rules of the world they had fled. (Elohev, 2014)

The few children who grew up in the community attended state schools (the HCRP did not form alternative schools) but were exposed to an anarchistic lifestyle that expressed wholly different values: they ran around naked, had little set routine, and were frequently exposed to random guests.

Hippie counterculture was critical of all establishments, especially political ones, and even of the separation into countries and nationalities. The protest against American militarism was one of the factors that created the hippie movement, with tens of thousands of youths evading the draft for the Vietnam War. Additionally, hippies rejected mainstream financial values, like careerism and material success.

Accordingly, HCRP also took in youths trying to dodge the mandatory draft. The community was a bubble, completely disconnected from Israel’s current affairs and showing no interest in politics. The hippies’ criticism of the establishment and their subversive attitude were manifested in the anarchistic way of life in Rosh Pinna – squatting in abandoned houses, refusal to pay taxes and utility bills, a loose daily routine that embodied values of personal freedom, and drug use. Going to work was casual, only by necessity, without any intention of acquiring property and advancing financially:

> There was plenty of action and inaction; every person [worked] when and how they felt like it. We lived in the here and now. Our time was free... for experiencing conversations, sights, and events that were invigorating, dull, illuminating, blinding, sweet, sad, gentle, witty, mad, calm, and plenty of peaceful moments. (Richard Flunch, in Elohev, 2014)

HCRP members earned a living in the liberal professions, from artistic handicrafts, from nude modeling at the nearby Tel Hai Arts Institute, from construction and renovation, from goat herding, and as farm workers.

The anti-establishment and antinomian atmosphere of the hippie movement, manifested in part in drug use (mainly soft drugs, but also LSD), also characterized the HCRP. This way of life, which contributed to the euphoric atmosphere, was at the same time a source of interpersonal friction due to mental crises or frequent acts of thievery, exacerbated by drug use. Therefore, anarchistic behavior was not solely aimed at the establishment or mainstream; it was also rampant within the community itself:

> The drugs and highs helped the openness and the feeling of brotherhood that was real, but it also crashed into paranoia, betrayal, disappointment, and even cruelty.... You could say this was a human community in a unique situation, in a unique period and time in Israel and the world. And it was powerful and exciting and dangerous and destructive. A sanctuary, for better and for worse. (Niza Flunch, in Elohev, 2014)

In this open atmosphere, which combined the criminal and the bohemian, no wonder the community took in the notorious "prison-break champion" Nahman Farkash and other occasional guests who sold drugs illegally.

Despite the lawless. anti-establishment ambience, a secluded spiritual atmosphere, quiet and communal, formed in the Upper Street based on mutual responsibility and relative intimacy. In the past few decades, that ambience of closeness, brotherhood, landscape preservation, and relative peace has been disrupted by waves of tourists. In addition to guests staying in bed and breakfasts, the unique Upper Street has become

a destination for Arab-sector bridal photoshoots, buses of Israeli tourists, and private vehicles that come in despite road signs forbidding it; all these create traffic jams, congestion, pandemonium, and litter. The residents and business owners on the street protest these trends and try to preserve the unique, peaceful atmosphere that made the place extraordinary. Understandably, this encounter, which distresses the post-hippie residents, is but one local example of a growing global phenomenon in which tourists enjoy visiting and "consuming" the experience and views of "authentic," alternative, spiritual spaces, thereby changing them. We will address this again in the conclusion.

Sexuality

A significant part of the free and subversive hippie lifestyle was manifested in liberated sexual behavior that shocked social convention (Almog, 2004: 624). In Rosh Pinna, this lifestyle took the form of sexual permissiveness and nudism during the summer, evoking criticism but also drawing in curious visitors. (We shall revisit the issue of nudity once more in the conclusion.) The Plastic Prophecy group, which had a product booth in the 1970 Tel Aviv fair at Ganei HaTa'arucha [Exhibition Gardens], created a commotion when photographs of its members dancing nude were published in the magazine *Bul*.

This behavior, of course, was quite abnormal in Israel, which in those days still tended to regard sex and fertility as yet another national tool and generally viewed motherhood as women's main contribution to the collective and as the rationale for their right to equality (Herzog, 2006; Berkovitch, 1999).

Conclusions: From Hippies to Yuppies

The HCRP was a unique case of a hippie settlement in Israel.[6] It was an extreme deviation from 1960s Israeli life, which was represented most prominently by

6 Although there were additional hippie experiments in Israel – in Achziv, Eilat, Lifta, and later Mevo Modi'im – they did not lead to any lasting hippie settlement.

the Six-Day War. About half a century would pass before this kind of alternative-spiritual way of life became widespread and popular in Israel in the form of the New Age lifestyle.

The HCRP was a clear contrast to Israeli life and the Israeli ethos in almost every way possible. Table 1 summarizes the many elements of this contrast, presented in three groups: *affiliation,* focusing on the significance of politics and the military, as well as spiritual sources of inspiration, tradition and culture, and especially their musical manifestations; *place*, manifested in perceptions of native land and nativeness, the relationship between nature and acculturation, and forms of settlement and communal conduct; and *nomos*, i.e., the status of law, education, and social-behavioral norms, especially in regard to nudity and sexuality.

Following the anthropologist van Gennep's well-known claim, nudity is more than a mere concrete issue, but it may also be interpreted as a symbolic expression of a central phase in a rite of passage:

> The liminal state, outside a fence, an institution, a name, on the threshold between places, stages, between old and new... undressing to achieve an emptiness that makes it possible to put on a new garment, a new identity, a new state of consciousness. The awakening of consciousness with its various stages passes through states of nudity as liminal states. (Gurevitch, 2007: 104)

Accordingly, although there were reasons for nudism in the HCRP (bathing in a spring in a hot country, values of sexual freedom), we can also view it as an expression of the Israeli hippies' passage beyond the particularistic boundary toward a new consciousness.

From a bird's-eye view, we can say that hippies embraced a globalist, cosmopolitical ideology that turned its back on Zionist-Jewish particularism. The contrast between hippie culture and Zionism was manifested in the reversal of the two components that converge in Zionism, namely, particularism and Westernism: on the one hand, hippies turned their backs on Judaism, Israeli nationality, and local politics, while on the other hand they rejected modern Westernism in the form

of progress, industrialization, the nation-state, the establishment, and "proper" conservative values.

In the context of resisting Westernism, Rosh Pinna's hippies did indeed embrace the values of the global counterculture. In contrast, in the particularistic domain, we can see that the contrast between hippie-ness and Zionism was incomplete. In other words, this community possessed a certain local profile that was not entirely conscious. Mainly, we noticed that while the United States and Europe saw the rise of hippie political activism in the late sixties, in Rosh Pinna, pacifism and anti-establishment sentiments took the form of indifference and escapism more than protest. The fact that the hippies were comfortable squatting in Palestinian houses is indicative of this political indifference. Another glocal aspect is evident in our examples of the unique local expressions of global hippie values: herding goats, gathering local plants, wearing traditional Arab garb, and co-creating with Arab musicians. For the hippies, in the aforementioned examples, the connection with the local was formed via acts that embodied "authenticity" and "nativeness" by referencing faraway cultures (India) or the (imagined) traditional Arabs. Much like the Ashkenazi Zionist perception, Rosh Pinna's hippies related to the country's Arab residents as a model of nativeness in an oriental spirit (Peleg, 2005); however, unlike in Zionism, this was not manifested in an attachment to biblical stories.

Although the HCRP rejected Zionist ideology, its members were involved in establishing three additional settlements in the periphery – which accorded with the Zionist enterprise. However, these settlements had a unique character – alternative-spiritual and sometimes anti-establishment – as a reflection of their origins in a post-hippie ideology. While these kinds of spiritual communities are more common in Israel nowadays, the clearly unique character of these alternative settlements – much like today's Rosh Pinna – teaches us about the unique nature of their mother community.

Unlike the later products of community members, which were expressions of an *alternative culture*, the HCRP can be seen as pure *counterculture*. In this as well, they seem to have taken after their Western counterparts. While the "founding" hippie generation tended toward dropping out, its New Age successors from the

late 1970s onwards attempted to establish cultural alternatives in different fields, such as alternative education, and sometimes even products and services offered to the mainstream through capitalist endeavors. Some explain this phenomenon on the basis of the biographies of movement members, who, as they grew older, also became bourgeois and adopted the paths set by the mainstream and its establishment, while assimilating alternative values (Heelas and Seel, 2003).

Even today, remnants of the hippie culture in Rosh Pinna, especially around the Upper Street, serve mainstream needs: They offer a romantic image to yuppie tourists who come to experience something other than the Zionist story. Yuppies want to consume the products of "lite"-alternative culture in the form of organic food, "natural" products, and holistic treatments. This is just a limited "taste," a touristic-consumer experience that ends after the visit concludes, but supplies the mainstream with a "meaningful other." Thus, on the one hand, the hippies turned "adult"/"bourgeois" and chose an alternative rather than counterculture character. They became willing to serve the Israeli mainstream despite the damage it would do to the lifestyle and ambience of the place, while attempting to minimize the damage (as described). On the other hand, the mainstream has changed and is now open to and seeks out these values (Ruah-Midbar, 2006; Ruah-Midbar and Zaidman, 2013).

The HCRP was a sociocultural laboratory that operated on the margins of Israel's mainstream (Puttick, 2000). Although the mainstream often seems static and refuses all attempts at change, small groups operating on its margins may – due to their weak visibility – experience an exceptional way of life. The community described herein did possess characteristics imbibed from the global hippie movement that were radically different from what was common in Israel back then. Here we have focused on the 1960s and 1970s. However, the HCRP's achievements – despite its ongoing struggle against the locals over the shaping of the narrative and the character of the Upper Street – exerted as influence later as well. This eventually enabled it to spread its values to the rest of Rosh Pinna through dissemination and permeation and facilitated the prosperity of its alternative-spiritual character to this very day.

Table 1: Comparison summary

		Zionist-sabra ethos	Rosh Pinna hippie community
Affiliation	**Israel's Political-Military Agenda**	Mobilized society; political security-oriented agenda; mandatory draft; the 1967 war going from tension to euphoria; close attention to the news	Pacifism; foreign music; preoccupation with personal experiences; cosmopolitical identity; indifference to and disconnect from political discourse; lack of pacifist protest; squatting in Palestinian houses
	Culture and Tradition: Spiritual Sources of Inspiration	Identification with the Enlightenment; the Bible as a national asset and source of pride; inspiration from Jewish tradition	Inspiration from spiritual traditions embraced by Western hippies: Gurdjieff, Ouspensky, and Krishnamurti, East Asian doctrines, neo-Sufism
	Music	Hebrew music; military bands; distrust of Anglo-American rock music (rejection of a Beatles concert); youth movements; folk dancing; an aversion to ballroom dancing	Music as an expression of hippie values (anti-establishment attitudes, spiritual experiences, psychedelia, etc.); rock music; non-Western world music
Place	**Native Land and Nativeness**	Connection to the Land of Israel; bonding with nature through physical effort; the biblical history of the land as national history; particularistic nativeness	Wandering; enchantment; nature as a bond with the supernational; cosmopolitics; individualism; internal spiritual journey
	Nature versus Culture	Conquering the wasteland; drying the swamps; industrialization; the femininity of nature symbolized by phallic imagery directed at it; laying asphalt on a cobblestone road in the name of progress	Industrialization as desecration of the natural wilderness; the femininity of nature symbolized by adoration of springs, burrows, and curves; preservation of old stone architecture
	Settlement and Community	Institutionalized, organized settlement; the "mitzvah" of settling the land; permanent jobs and professional advancement	Living in nature, far from civilization; squatting at abandoned sites; a "simple" life; disconnection from infrastructure; improvised building techniques; manual labor and artisanship; temporary jobs; a lack of financial planning; eclecticism; idleness
Nomos	**Law, Education, and Social Behavior**	Organization via state institutions; law and order; widespread state control over all areas of life (education, welfare, communication, etc.); maturity	Anti-establishment rebelliousness; opposition to conventional institutions (state, army, economics, etc.); youths and youth; anarchist lifestyle (squatting, avoiding paying taxes, unstable daily routine, etc.); drug use; inclusivity of social outcasts
	Sexuality	Conservativism/propriety; obedience to social norms; sex and fertility recruited to meet the nation's needs	Sexual permissiveness; nudism

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Tal Elohev arrived at the hippie community of Old Rosh Pinna in the early 1970s and has lived there to this day. After initiating and curating the photographic exhibition about this community, "Dreams in the Upper Street," in 2014, she completed her BA in spirituality and mysticism at Zefat Academic College, followed by an MA in religious studies at Tel Aviv University. She is also a translator, book editor, and painter.